

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 14859 211906Z

44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 EB-07 OMB-01 /075 W

----- 123619

P 211541Z SEP 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8947

INFO USMISSION BERLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 14859

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, UR, US, UK, WB, EC

SUBJECT: BERLIN: INITIAL SOVIET REACTION TO ALLIED REPLY ON
EC PARLIAMENT

REF: MOSCOW 14769

SUMMARY. U.S., FRENCH, AND BRITISH GAVE REPLY TO SOVIET
PROTEST ON WEST BERLIN PRESENCE IN EC PARLIAMENT SEPT 20.
SOVIET THIRD EUROPEAN DIVISION CHIEF BONDARENKO GAVE
"PERSONAL" RESPONSE, SAYING OFFICIAL RESPONSE COULD COME
AFTER CAREFUL STUDY OF OUR MESSAGE. WITH U.S. AND FRENCH,
BONDARENKO STRESSED SOVIET CONCERN THAT PROCESS OF EUROPEAN
INTEGRATION AND INCLUSION OF WEST BERLIN IN THAT PROCESS
IS CHANGING STATUS OF WSB. WITH BRITISH, HE REPEATED THIS
LINE, BUT ADDED THAT USSR CONFRONTED BY SERIES
OF SERIOUS INFRINGEMENTS OF QA AND IT WOULD BE COM-
PELLED TO TAKE STEPS TO PROTECT ITS INTERESTS. END
SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 14859 211906Z

1. AS REPORTED REFTTEL, CHARGE DELIVERED ALLIED REPLY TO BONDARENKO SEPT 20. BONDARENKO SAID THAT U.S. MESSAGE WOULD BE STUDIED CAREFULLY AND THAT AN OFFICIAL REPLY WOULD PROBABLY FOLLOW IN DUE COURSE. HE THEN PROCEEDED TO OFFER HIS "PERSONAL" COMMENTS.

2. BONDARENKO STATED THAT HE COULD NOT AGREE WITH THE POSITION TAKEN IN U.S. RESPONSE. THE PROCESS OF WESTERN INTEGRATION IS CHANGING RELATIONSHIPS IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE ATTEMPT BY THE THREE WESTERN POWERS TO INCLUDE WEST BERLIN IN THAT PROCESS IS CHANGING THE EXISTING SITUATION ON WHICH THE QUARRIPARTITE AGREEMENT IS BASED. AS A RESULT THE SOVIET UNION IS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT THESE DEVELOPMENTS AND THE EFFECT THAT THEY ARE HAVING ON THE STATUS OF WEST BERLIN.

3. THE SOVIET UNION, SAID BONDARENKO, NEVER RECOGNIZED THE EXTENSION OF THE ROME TREATY TO WEST BERLIN, ALTHOUGH THE QA PERMITS SOME TIES OF WEST BERLIN WITH THE FRG IN LIMITED, NON-GOVERNMENTAL AREAS. FURTHERMORE, THE NATURE OF THE EC IS CHANGING AND IT IS TAKING ON SOME OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A GOVERNMENT AND A STATE WITH CERTAIN ATTRIBUTES WHICH BELONG TO GOVERNMENTS AND STATES. THE WESTERN POWERS, BY PERMITTING WEST BERLIN TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROCESS, ARE ALLOWING A CHANGE IN WEST BERLIN'S STATUS NOT FORESEEN IN THE QA. HE THEN POSED THE QUESTION OF WHAT ROLE THE EC PARLIAMENT WOULD IN FUTURE PLAY IN WEST BERLIN, SINCE LAWS IT MIGHT PASS WOULD AFFECT WEST BERLIN. HE ALSO RAISED POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE COMMON CITIZENSHIP OF SOME KIND IN WESTERN EUROPE. HE CLOSED WITH A STRONG STATEMENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION COULD NOT ACCEPT THESE CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF WEST BERLIN, AND HE HOPED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD GIVE CAREFUL STUDY TO THE SOVIET VIEWS SO THAT MISUNDERSTANDING AND COMPLICATIONS IN AND AROUND WEST BERLIN COULD BE AVOIDED.

4. CHARGE REPLIED THAT SOVIET VIEWS HAD INDEED BEEN GIVEN CAREFUL STUDY AND DOUBTLESS WOULD CONTINUE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, BUT HE FELT THA THE U.S. REPLY OFFERED AN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 14859 211906Z

ADEQUATE EXPLANATION OF OUR POSITION AND THAT THE LATTER SHOULD GIVE THE SOVIETS NO PROBLEMS. IT SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT THE WESTERN POWERS ARE NOT ACQUIESCING IN A CHANGE IN THE STATUS OF BERLIN AND ARE FOLLOWING POLICIES IN FULL ACCORD WITH THE QA.

5. BONDARENKO THEN RETURNED TO HIS THEME THAT THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE EC ITSELF IS CHANGING AND ASSUMING

THAT ATTRIBUTES OF A STATE AND A GOVERNMENT, AND IT IS THE INTEGRATION OF WEST BERLIN INTO THIS PROCESS TO WHICH THE SOVIETS OBJECT, AND WILL CONTINUE TO OBJECT.

6. CHARGE UNDERTOOK TO REPORT HIS VIEWS, REITERATED OUR VIEW THAT THE PARTICIPATION OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM WSB IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT DOES NOT VIOLATE THE QA, AND SUGGESTED THAT OUR REPLY BE STUDIED CAREFULLY.

7. BRITISH AMBASSADOR SMITH, WHO CALLED ON BONDARENKO BEFORE WE AND THE FRENCH DID, REPORTS THAT A MORE HEATED EXCHANGE DEVELOPED. INITIALLY, BONDARENKO COMMENTED ON THE ALLIED STATEMENT ALONG THE SAME LINES USED WITH US (PARAS 2 AND 3 ABOVE), BUT WHEN SMITH SUGGESTED THAT ALLIED REPLY DEALT ADEQUATELY WITH THESE CONCERNS, BONDARENKO COMMENTED THAT ATTEMPTS WERE BEING MADE TO BRING ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS WHICH WOULD CORRESPOND TO THE UNILATERAL INTERESTS OF ONLY ONE STATE AND INTERESTS WHICH, AT THAT, WERE IMPERFECTLY UNDERSTOOD. THE SOVIET UNION, HE CONTINUED, HAD BEEN CONFRONTED BY A WHOLE SERIES OF SERIOUS INFRINGEMENTS ON THE QA. THE SOVIET UNION COULD NOT REST CONTENT WITH MERELY NOTING THESE INFRINGEMENTS; IT WOULD BE COMPELLED TO TAKE STEPS ALONG WITH ITS ALLIED TO PROTECT ITS INTERESTS.

8. AMBASSADOR SMITH REPLIED THAT HE WAS GLAD THAT THE VIEWS BONDARENKO HAD EXPRESSED WERE PRELIMINARY AND PERSONAL, SINCE HE HAD USED THE LANGUAGE OF CONFRONTATION, AND ADDED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT COULD NOT FOR ONE MOMENT ACCEPT THE CONTENTION THAT THE WEST HAS BEEN GUILTY OF INFRINGEMENTS ON THE QA. BONDARENKO DENIED THAT HE WAS USING THE LANGUAGE CONFRONTATION, BUT ASSERTED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 14859 211906Z

THE SOVIET UNION HAD TO REACT TO EVENTS CREATED BY THE WEST. HE CLAIMED THAT THE WEST CANNOT CITE ON INSTANCE WHEN THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT ABIDE BY THE QA, AND THAT IT IS THE WEST WHICH IS EMBARKING ON A COURSE OF CONFRONTATIONS AMBASSADOR SMITH REITERATED THAT HE DID NOT ACCEPT THAT THERE HAD BEEN WESTERN VIOLATIONS OF THE QA, AND CONVERSATION ENDED WITH A STATEMENT BY BONDARENKO TO EFFECT THAT ALL PARTIES SHOULD STRIVE FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

9. FRENCH CHARGE HUSSON REPORTS THAT HIS CONVERSATION FOLLOWED OURS ALMOST LITERALLY, AND THAT BONDARENKO DID NOT CHARGE PAST VIOLATIONS OF THE QA BUT CONCENTRATED ON IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE OF INCLUDING WEST BERLIN IN PROCESS OF EC INTEGRATION.

10. COMMENT: IT WOULD APPEAR THAT BONDARENKO, WHO KEPT US WAITING FOR TEN MINUTES AFTER THE BRITISH HAD DEPARTED, DECIDED TO USE LESS CONTENTIOUS LANGUAGE WITH THE FRENCH AND OURSELVES. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT, IN REFERRING TO A "WHOLE SERIES OF SERIOUS INFRINGEMENTS," OF THE QA DURING HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR, HE EXCEEDED HIS BRIEF. ALTERNATIVELY, HE MAY HAVE WISHED IN THIS WAY TO REFLECT SOVIET DISPLEASURE OVER PERCEIVED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US/FRENCH AND EVEN LESS FORTHCOMING BRITISH RESPONSE TO PROPOSAL FOR QA ANNIVERSARY EXCHANGE (BONN 15301). IN ANY EVENT, HE DID NOT REPEAT THIS CHARGE TO US OR TO THE FRENCH. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE ISSUE OF WSB-EC TIES IS LIKELY TO BE WITH US FOR A LONG TIME, SINCE SOVIETS SEEM DETERMINED TO RESIST THE CONTINUED ASSOCIATION OF WSB WITH THE EC IF THE LATTER CONTINUES ITS EVOLUTION TO GREATER POLITICAL INTEGRATION.

MATLOCK

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DEMARCHE, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW14859
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760356-0908
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760937/aaaabfsn.tel
Line Count: 188
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 MOSCOW 14769
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <06 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BERLIN: INITIAL SOVIET REACTION TO ALLIED REPLY ON EC PARLIAMENT
TAGS: PFOR, FR, UR, US, UK, WB, EC
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006